

25X1C10B

Next 6 Page(s) In Document Exempt

Principal Developments in World Communist Affairs20 September-18 October 19681. World Communist Conference Preparatory Commission Meets

Delegates from 58 Communist and workers' parties gathered in Budapest during the week of 23 September with the shadow of the Soviet invasion clouding the proceedings. It was the second meeting of the World Communist Conference (WCC) Preparatory Commission (PC) which first met in April 1968 with 54 parties present. (These PC meetings were preceded by the Budapest Consultative Conference (67 parties) in February-March 1968). The Soviets were much more successful this time in preventing news leaks on the more vital parts of the proceedings, but it is generally acknowledged that the early part of the week passed in caucuses with the Czech issue at the forefront of the discussion: whether to hold the WCC as scheduled, postpone it, or call it off altogether.

A communique was issued after the formal proceedings 27 September-1 October (text attached -- it also lists all parties present). Briefly, it unanimously affirmed "the necessity" of holding a Conference (a Soviet victory, unless it was only a face-saving device for the Soviets), agreed to hold a third meeting of the PC in Budapest on 17 November to decide on a date for the WCC (originally scheduled for 25 November, it remains to be seen what the Soviets will succeed in arranging), with the delegates taking the issue back to their respective Central Committees for decision (energetic Soviet lobbying can be expected in the various parties on their home ground).

While most experts are confident that the WCC will not adhere to its original schedule, and that it will be postponed to early 1969 or possibly indefinitely, they differ as to whether the Soviets suffered further damage to their claim to leadership of the Communist world by having to disrupt their schedule, or whether they were satisfied -- in light of the disunity and disaffection caused by the Czech invasion -- to keep the issue of convoking a Conference open at all.

Perhaps the best view is that they reckon a relatively short postponement as part of the calculated cost of the invasion. Keeping open the possibility of a meeting and avoiding a public discussion of the Czech issue are a measure of their continuing power over the world movement. Perhaps a clearer measure of this power will be possible after 17 November.

2. The Czech Experiment being Extinguished

Despite the presence of vast numbers of Soviet and Satellite troops in Czechoslovakia, a dogged popular resistance to Soviet demands for "normalization" continued during the past month. Against the constant complaining and admonishments from her neighbors, particularly East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union, Czechoslovak news media spoke up from

time to time refuting the more blatant lies. Nevertheless, the resisting voice of the Czech media is progressively growing weaker, and the once forthright voices of the Czech leadership are tiring and are more and more keyed to the Soviet-called tune. The Soviet colossus is gradually, patiently, but inexorably grinding down the Czech Communist and popular ability to resist. Somehow, the accounts of Dubcek's faltering voice as he addresses his countrymen, his outbreaks of weeping, and his appearance of physical exhaustion seem to symbolize the vanquished spirit of Czech independence and individuality.

In the Moscow meeting between Soviet and Czech leaders which finally took place 3-4 October after many postponements, the Czech side was forced to accept the principle of the "temporary" stationing of troops in Czechoslovakia (the "temporary" stationing of troops in Hungary after the Soviet repression of the Revolution has lasted for 12 years). Prime Minister Cernik has been the leading Czech negotiator. Details of the agreement are not known as of this writing. Observers believe that sufficient troops will be left indefinitely to insure "normalization," but that the bulk of the troops will be withdrawn, perhaps by 28 October, the 50th anniversary of the birth of Czechoslovakia as a state. Such a move would be calculated by the Soviets for its maximum psychological impact, particularly to improve the possibilities of convoking the World Communist Conference in the near future.

### 3. Protest in the Soviet Bloc

For the most part, the widespread revulsion against the Soviet invasion among the ordinary people in the Soviet Bloc does not break into public view and is conveyed privately by word of mouth. The handful of examples of protest that have become known is truly representative of the sentiments of countless other private citizens.

Five Soviets who briefly demonstrated in Red Square against the invasion were sentenced on 11 October after a short trial that was closed to all but an official clique and a few very close relatives of the accused. They were charged with "slandering the Soviet state" and disturbing the peace. Three -- Pavel Litvinov, 30-year old physicist and grandson of the prewar Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov; Mrs. Larisa Bogaras-Daniel, wife of Yuli Daniel, the writer who was sentenced in 1966 to five years in a forced labor camp for criticizing the Soviet Union in his writings which were published abroad; and Konstantin Babitsky, a literary critic -- were sentenced to exile in an undesignated remote area of the Soviet Union for five, four and three years respectively. The "lenient" exile sentences, in lieu of forced labor camp servitude, were requested by the state prosecutor, purportedly on the grounds that these three were first offenders, more probably, however, because of the prominence of the accused and Kremlin sensitivity to world opinion over its invasion role. The other two defendants -- a young university student-poet and a Leningrad worker -- received forced labor camp sentences of about three years because they had

committed prior offenses. When the young poet, Mr. Delone, was informed by court of his sentence, he said, "for three minutes on Red Square I felt free, I am glad to take your three years for that." His words seemed to represent the sentiments of all five unrepentant defendants.

The noted Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko reportedly sent a strong telegram to Premier Kosygin and CPSU leader Brezhnev on 21 August protesting the invasion "as a tragic mistake and a bitter blow to ... the world Communist movement." When queried by the press about his protest he claimed he had not sent it ... possibly to avoid prosecution for "anti-state propaganda."

Jerzy Andrzejewski, prominent Polish novelist wrote to Czech writers, expressing his feeling of shame at the invasion and his solidarity with his Czech confreres. Similar expressions are being privately circulated by Hungarian intellectuals.

The 30th anniversary of the Munich Pact of 30 September 1968 -- which opened Czechoslovakia to occupation by Nazi Germany -- was the occasion for thousands of East German citizens to protest the regime's participation in the invasion. Many accused the regime of having "trod in Hitler's footsteps," and many of them have since been arrested. Similar demonstrations, involving lesser numbers of demonstrators have been reported in Poland and Hungary.

#### 4. Soviet Diplomatic Relations

At the United Nations foreign ministers from Albania, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Japan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Salvador, Sweden and Venezuela, as well as U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, excoriated the Soviet Union for violating the spirit and letter of the UN Charter and international law and called for removal of Soviet bloc troops as a requirement for an improved political climate.

U.S. Secretary of State Rusk forcefully warned Moscow again that any military action against West Germany would bring immediate military reaction by the NATO powers and pointedly told Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko that any new chances of detente depend upon the Soviets' application of the UN Charter to Czechoslovakia.

As a result of the Czech crisis French officials began an important review of France's military strategy, as well as economic and diplomatic policies, to be conducted under the direction of Premier Couve de Murville. Foreign Minister Michel Debre's UN address strongly condemned the Soviet Union and supported the Czechoslovaks. Debre also called the Soviet Union's violent anti-West German campaign a diversionary maneuver to obscure the consequences of its military invasion of Czechoslovakia, and he added that it would be "supremely unjust" not to recognize the peaceful intentions of the present West German leaders. Like Secretary of State Rusk and other foreign ministers, Debre made detente with Moscow contingent on the

Soviet Union's willingness to recognize the sovereignty and personality of her neighbors.

Soviet reaction has been to restore matters to a "business-as-usual" basis as soon as possible. Thus, Foreign Minister Gromyko told the UN General Assembly that the Soviet Union was prepared to start a "serious exchange of views" with the U.S. on mutual limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, including antiballistic missiles, but warned that Moscow would "not allow infringements upon the vital interests of socialism" or upon "the inviolability of the boundaries of the Socialist Commonwealth."

A conference between Rusk and Gromyko on 6 October regarding Vietnam, the Middle East, disarmament, and European security, reached no agreements, and Rusk characterized the talks as "a scouting expedition." "Soviet policy damaged a good many efforts that were being made to resolve problems in the general field of East-West relations," said Secretary Rusk on his return to Washington from New York.

Foreign Minister Gromyko also talked with West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, on 8 October 1968. While Brandt declined to discuss the details, he did say their talk had been "very useful," adding significantly that now West Germany would be even more cautious in its policy of bridge-building with East European countries.

As part of efforts to recover from these diplomatic setbacks, the Soviets welcomed an unusual number of foreign visitors to Moscow. They included the Shah of Iran and his queen, the Yemeni Foreign Minister, the Governor of West Pakistan, the Syrian Minister for Culture, National Guidance and Tourism, and the Deputy Chairman of India's Planning Commission. The Chief of the General Staff of the Iraqi Army also visited the USSR during this period, heading a military delegation. They were guests of Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko.

Kosygin's Sudden Visit to Finland. Soviet Premier Kosygin's sudden, unannounced, "unofficial" visit with Finland's President Kekkonen, 6-9 October, caused widespread uneasiness in Finland, which has tried to maintain a precarious neutrality with the Russian bear next door. The bland communique (why a communique after an "unofficial" visit?) and the deadpan assertions by officials that Kosygin came for a fishing trip vacation did not obscure the real reason: the effect of the Czech crisis on Finland. After the Chairman of the Finnish Communist Party (FCP), Aarne Saarinen, condemned the Soviet invasion in very strong terms, after Finnish Foreign Minister Ahti Karjalainen joined the general condemnation of the invasion in the United Nations, and after the Finnish Communists suffered heavy losses in the communal elections of 6-7 October, the Soviets dispatched Kosygin to remind Finland that there are limits to how far "friendly neutrality" can be stretched before the Soviets take more formal action to bring Finland back into line. The communique's invocation of the military

clause in the Finnish-Soviet treaty of 1948 was the slight baring of the teeth that passes for a Soviet smile of friendship with neutral Finland. Kosygin also took time to confer with Finnish Communist leaders, presumably to rebuke them for the party's criticism of the invasion.

Soviet Posture on Germany. The sudden concession reportedly made to Secretary Dean Rusk by Foreign Minister Gromyko in their meeting on 6 October that West Berlin was a legitimate sphere of security concern for the U.S. and her allies, coupled with assurances that the Soviets will not threaten the status quo, may be explained as a tactical move, to allay the concern of the Western allies over Soviet intentions on the eve of a ministerial-level meeting of NATO and thus to forestall the expected Western effort to strengthen NATO. But the Soviets' position on Berlin would also serve a second purpose: to lead the world to believe that western interest in Berlin is equatable with Soviet interest in Czechoslovakia.

#### 5. Soviet Military Aggressiveness

As part of the Soviet return to "business-as-usual," side by side with a new Middle East "peace plan" which contained nothing new, the Soviets are continuing their strengthening of the Egyptian armed forces. The program allegedly calls for military supplies and equipment sufficient to help Egypt retrieve, within two to five years, all territory lost to Israel in June 1967.

While the editor of the authoritative Jane's Fighting Ships warned about the increasing size of the Soviet navy and its penetration of the Mediterranean and the Far East, the Soviets sailed their new helicopter carrier Moskva into the Mediterranean, ominously strengthening Soviet naval potential in this sensitive area. In the Christian Science Monitor (Boston) writer Paul Wohl warned:

"The Soviets have also sailed deeply into the North Atlantic, and their planes are on patrol beyond Iceland and the British Isles. Whether their motivation is fear of NATO, as they contend, or whether Soviet admirals -- like their counterparts, the marshals of the Soviet Army -- have begun to influence the political deliberations of the Kremlin in the sense of a more active and aggressive naval policy, no one can say."

Finally, the Paris newspaper L'Aurore reports that for months Soviet military instructors, technical advisers and specialists of all kinds have been arriving in Algeria.

#### 6. Two Significant Western CP Reactions

The French Communist Party (PCF) is evidencing the effects of deep division on the Czech crisis, so much so that L'Humanite published on 5 October an article by Central Committee member Lucien Mathey bitterly attacking Politburo member Roger Garaudy, who is also a leading PCF

theoretician, for "breaking party discipline" by writing a favorable preface to a collection in book form of pre-invasion statements and doctrines of the Czechoslovak leaders. Garaudy wrote: the "Czechoslovak positions as defined between January and August this year were the 'model' of Socialism that came closest to our conditions." The Humanité article asserted that Garaudy exceeded PCF policy which, while condemning use of armed force by the Soviet Union, nevertheless chided the Czechoslovak comrades for not having acted with sufficient vigor against 'anti-socialist' tendencies. Garaudy was accused of "propagating 'new' definitions of socialism in the economic field," implying that such socialism would rely unduly on intellectuals instead of on the working class. Mathey's article possibly foreshadows disciplinary action and even expulsions from the party.

Garaudy's position appears to have much in common with that of Andre Berteloot, Secretary of the CGT (Confédération Générale de Travail -- Communist-led labor federation), thus indicating possible widespread support for such a thesis within the large and powerful labor union as well as within the PCF. This would help explain why L'Humanité is so concerned. Berteloot was interviewed by Prace (Czech trade union newspaper) in Prague on 28 September while there as part of a CGT delegation meeting with representatives of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions and the powerful and Communist-led Italian CGIL (labor federation). Said Prace:

Berteloot "resolutely rejected assertions that the stand of French trade unions on the military intervention in Czechoslovakia was only a tactical maneuver carried out with members and voters in mind. He said the CGT position was absolutely one of principle. He said the post-January (1968) road of the Czechoslovak working class 'represented an attempt to find a form of socialism which would be in accord with the economic, social and other traditions of the country. The reason we are interested in it is that once we have established the conditions for building socialism in France, we shall be confronted by the same problems!'" (Emphasis added)

The Austrian Communist Party announced on 3 October that the western Communist Parties would probably hold a regional conference to discuss their disagreements with Moscow over Czechoslovakia and to make a "positive contribution to the peaceful political solution of this problem, including the speedy withdrawal of Soviet Bloc troops from CSSR." The party has accepted an invitation from the CPSU Central Committee to send a delegation to Moscow for bilateral talks, during which they will probably be subjected to heavy pressure to drop the idea of a regional conference. The likely degree of pressure may be judged from the vicious attack made by Pravda on 5 October on Austrian Communist Party theoretician Ernst Fischer, who has played a key role in proposing such a regional conference, which included such remarks as: "It would be hard to find among the ranks of Communist party members anywhere a person who stood so close to the crudest inventions of imperialist propaganda concerning the occupation of Czechoslovakia."

7. Ill-Timed Debut for a New West German Communist Party

Thirty-one men and women issued a manifesto in Frankfurt on 29 September announcing the founding of a new West German Communist Party (DKP) as a variant of the outlawed Communist Party of West Germany (KPD). Though tiny, the new DKP is backed by Walter Ulbricht's East Germany and is presumed to be acting on Ulbricht's orders in a move to challenge Bonn's 12-year ban on the KPD. Leader of the new DKP is 59-year old Kurt Bachmann, an old-time Communist, Nazi-era emigre who returned in 1945 to help re-establish the KPD, and former editor of the Cologne Communist newspaper Volksstimme.

To protect itself domestically, the Bachmann group made two statements. It called for lifting the ban on the KPD, thereby avoiding the taint of being a substitute for, or successor to, the outlawed party and automatically subject to the same ban. Simultaneously, the new DKP declared its respect for the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the Federal Republic. The Bachmann group foreign policy platform echoes that of East Germany; it reaffirms that the intervention in Czechoslovakia was a defensive measure, favors the recognition of existing de facto European boundaries, and calls for East-West German relations on a "basis of equality." Whether the new party will forswear typical Communist subversive tactics remains to be seen. Will the leopard change his spots?

Whatever the reason for founding the DKP, the timing is inauspicious. Events in Prague have alienated many left-wing elements who might otherwise have been sympathetic. And, as the Frankfurter Rundschau commented editorially, "the legal acceptance of the DKP will improve the image of the FRG abroad since the legality of the neo-Fascist NPD, contrasted with the ban on the KPD, has only facilitated Soviet propaganda efforts."

8. New Left Groupings Reviving in France

Pro-Chicom Grouping. The contents of the new journal, Drapeau Rouge (discussed in "Principal Developments in Communist World Affairs" of September 1968) confirm not only its Maoist orientation, but also the fact that it will be used as the nucleus of a new Communist party to the left of the French Communist Party and dedicated to Maoist doctrines of violence. The French have deduced from the awkward language that some of the editorial material is provided directly by the Chinese Communist Embassy in Paris. One of the strains animating the French New Left finds its inspiration in Chinese communism and the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung." Though direct evidence is lacking, one should not be surprised to find not only inspiration and editorial support from the Chinese Embassy, but also financial support (the new magazine is a luxury edition and is distributed gratis).

New Extreme Left Journal. Another extreme left journal is reported to be ready to make its first appearance in France. Known simply as Rouge,



it is said to represent student militants from the former Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth) which was dissolved by decree as the result of its participation in the May riots in Paris. However, it now seeks to unite radicals from universities, secondary schools, trade schools, etc., and also like-minded adults. Frankly revolutionary in its intentions, it will emphasize the international scope of the revolutionary movement and establish liaison with equivalent group in other countries, such as the S.D.S. in Germany, the "Jeune Garde Socialiste" (Young Socialist Guard) in Belgium, student movements in Italy and South America, and the Zengakuren in Japan.

NEW YORK TIMES  
20 October 1968

CPYRGH  
T

## A Balance Sheet on the Soviet Occupation

PRAGUE — Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Communist party, is trying to salvage what he can of liberalization in Czechoslovakia. His program has been battered since the Soviet-led invasion Aug. 20-21.

There is a spirit of defeatism and defection, especially among younger people here, as Dubcek is forced to make one concession after another to the Russians to achieve what is termed "normalization" in relations between the two countries.

Though he still retains the confidence and trust of most Czechoslovaks, there is the fear among liberals that he may be pushed too far and that Czechoslovakia will again become a police state. Well before this stage is reached, however, it is almost certain Dubcek and his liberal colleagues on the party Presidium would resign.

Despite the pessimism prevailing now, it is probably too early to write an epitaph either for Dubcek or his program. Despite the crowding by the Soviet leadership, he still maintains a certain flexibility.

Here is what the balance sheet looks like two months after the invasion:

**The Press.** Gone is the freedom to criticize, to engage in polemics, to express diverse views, which provided such exhilaration and excitement in the spring and early summer months. The new controls have probably hit the press the hardest, but even today occasional liberties are taken in stretching the censorship rules.

**The Party.** Dubcek has been forced to tighten the controls and end the democratic experiment under which minority

views within the party would gain expression. This was another Soviet demand to make the Czechoslovak Communist party monolithic and strengthen the party discipline. There are further Soviet pressures to slice off liberal elements within the party such as organizations of Communists and academic institutions. Dubcek is resisting these pressures.

**Economic Management.** The Russians want an end to economic reforms aimed at increasing industrial efficiency by veering Czechoslovakia's commerce toward the West. They want Czechoslovakia to continue playing her key role as heavy industrial supplier and munitions maker for COMECON, the Communist bloc's economic network.

Dubcek has made some concessions. The leadership now talks about how much they love COMECON. But he insists that the process of decentralization of industrial decision-making will continue, with workers participating in the management of enterprises, as they do in Yugoslavia. This is a key element in the economic reform program.

**The Law.** Dubcek and the liberal leadership have repeatedly stressed that citizens' rights are guaranteed under Czechoslovak laws and that they need not fear midnight arrests and violations of personal liberties. But there are strong pressures by the Russians for the authorities here to arrest those whom Moscow regards as leading the counter-revolutionaries and stage show trials. Most observers feel that if there is any point on which Dubcek will not yield, it is this.

**The Military.** Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin and Czechoslovak

Premier Oldrik Cernik signed a treaty in Prague last week, providing for the gradual withdrawal of most of the Warsaw Pact invasion forces. Contingents of Soviet forces will remain. The stationing of Soviet forces here has been denounced by the liberal intellectuals as "another Munich" but there was little the leadership could do about it.

That Dubcek has not given up despite the intense Soviet pressures is indicated by the commission he formed to determine the "tasks of the party in the present period." This is aimed at preserving as much of Dubcek's "action program" as possible.

The pressures come on many fronts. Soviet political officers in Pilsen, for example, went to the district committee of the party last week and demanded that the editor of the Skoda Works newspaper be fired because he published certain nationalistic poems.

Gen. Ivan Pavolsky, supreme commander of the invasion forces, threatened in a letter to the Minister of Education to occupy the nation's schools — which he termed a "nest of counter-revolution" — unless teachers adopted a more favorable attitude toward the Russians.

In the final tallying of the balance sheet, Dubcek is seen as a man who is trying to hold on to power to prevent the complete erosion of his liberalization program. And he retains an ultimate trump card—a threat of resignation. This would probably produce demonstrations in the streets, general strikes and the rekindling of a potential explosive situation.

—CLYDE FARNSWORTH

## Mainstream

# This peace conference is just an excuse for hatred

By PETER WORTHINGTON  
Telegram Staff Reporter

WHILE attention in Canada has recently focused on the possibilities of France deliberately practising and encouraging agitation and disruption in Canada, another instrument of potential subversion has largely escaped notice up to now.

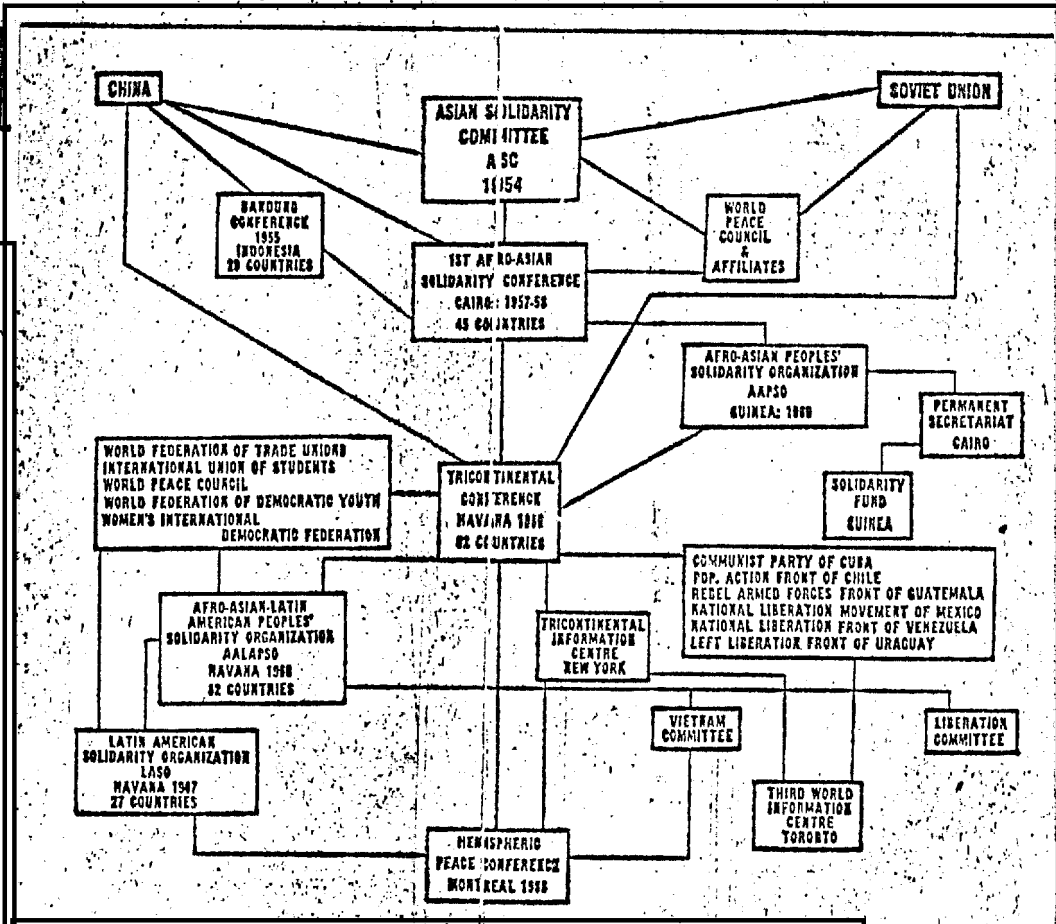
Prime Minister Trudeau has lifted the lid on the French question, and the steam that has escaped may both ease the pressure — and fog the eyes.

But as yet the whistle hasn't been blown on another matter which, though it isn't directly related to the problems with Paris, does embody another, possibly more significant, development with greater international ramifications.

This is the so-called Hemispheric Peace Conference, originally scheduled for Montreal, Oct. 12, 13 and 14. It has now been postponed to November. Ostensibly it will be devoted to opposing the war in Vietnam. But almost certainly it will become a forum for Anti-Americanism in Latin America.

Originally it was stated that about 2,000 delegates from Canada, the U.S. and various Latin American countries would attend.

But balancing expectations with probabilities, it now seems that about 600 will actually show up. This is still a large number, considering who and what the participants will represent.



Indications are that the Hemispheric Peace Conference (HPC) will become an extension of the Communist-sponsored, revolution-oriented Tricontinental Conference that was held in Havana in January, 1966.

### War ploy

The Vietnam war issue seems mainly a ploy to get potential radicals and activists and "peace-lovers" together so that they can be re-oriented and re-di-

rected towards anti-American issues in Latin America.

The first indication that there would even be a "hemispheric" peace conference, was when the question was raised at the Budapest conference of Communist parties in the winter of 1966. This in itself is ominous.

Since then the idea has steadily expanded and matured.

It seems likely that Latin Americans, led by 50 to 80 Cubans, will dominate the Montreal meeting. Some 150 Chileans — Communists and radicals — are

listed as perhaps coming, and from the Argentine there are 24 pages of sponsors. How many will actually turn up is another matter.

Logic boggles at supposing such a gathering would be content with merely discussing Vietnam and lamenting over American's Asian policies.

Up to now it is the Communist press that has lavished most attention on the upcoming conference. The Canadian Tribune has given it frontpage headlines.

The roots of this conference go deep into the past. The Latin Americans see it as an extension of the 1966 Tricontinental Conference, and last year's First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO)

### Volatile

The mixture of these types with Quebec separatists, well... it's interesting and disturbing to contemplate.

Already there is a difference of ideas as to what the hemispheric Conference is to be all about. Canadians insist it is to be about Vietnam — the Latin Americans see it as an aid to their own "revolutionary" movements.

The Americans, as stated by Peter Oris of the militant Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and one of the U.S. organizers of the conference, see it as a chance to co-ordinate future activities among radical groups in different countries.

The Canadian version seems the most unrealistic.

A look at the earlier Tricontinental Conference and the LASO gang might be useful to indicate the intentions and composition of the upcoming Hemispheric Conference

It all began back in 1954 when the Soviets sponsored the Asian Solidarity Committee through the auspices of their front group, the World Peace Council (WPC)

After the Bandung Conference of 1955, held in Indonesia, and which brought the heads of state of some 29 countries together, the Soviets began to horn-in in earnest.

A "non-governmental" Afro-Asian conference was convened

many members of the Soviet-backed World Peace Council, was held in Cairo in 1957-58.

A second such conference was held in 1960 in Conakry, Guinea, and out of this was created the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), which included the earlier Asian Solidarity Committee.

The Soviet Union itself was eventually admitted as an "Asian" country, by dint of its territories east of the Ural mountains. The Russians began competing with the Chinese for control, and both Soviet and Chinese money kept the organization solvent and paid for delegates to attend conferences.

More and more the AAPSO became an echo of Communist lines — Soviet or Chinese, depending on the faction.

Further "solidarity" conferences were held in Tanganyika in 1963, and in Ghana in 1965. Throughout there was bickering and back-biting feuding-and-fussing over the appropriate tactics to use (Soviet or Chinese) in order to fight the common foe — Imperialism, capitalism, colonialism, all euphuisms for the U.S. and its allies.

AAPSO was composed of 75 "National Committees" from 75 countries, and its first objective, as published in its manual, was to: "Unite and co-ordinate the struggle of Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and colonialism, to accelerate the liberation of the peoples and to ensure their economic, social and cultural development."

Curiously, to this day, there has been no machinery set up to achieve "economic, social and cultural development." All stress has been given to "liberation," which simply means replacing the existing order with a more Marxist one.

At the fourth AAPSO conference in Ghana, now-deposed President Nkrumah formally moved that a Tricontinental Conference be held in Havana.

The Russians, now feuding furiously and openly with the Chinese, actively sided with Cuba in order to prevent the next "solidarity" conference from being held in Peking.

### Locked doors

The Havana conference was held Jan. 3 to 15, 1966. A total of 728 accredited participants from 38 countries and three continents attended. Canada was represented by Francis and Libbie Park of the Canadian Tribune.

Fidel Castro was especially anxious to make a big thing of the conference — so much so that in order to ensure that no delegates left early, he closed the airports for the duration.

By this time the once-modest Asian Solidarity Committee was a robust, cocky and rambunctious creature that embraced three continents and was showing signs of unlimited ambition and some independence.

The Tricontinental Conference, again deeply involving the World Peace Council, listed among its prime objectives:

"To unite, co-ordinate and encourage the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism.

"To support the revolutionary struggle as an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the peoples before imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"To organize the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents and serve as a permanent link among the different movements which are members of the organization.

"To give effective support to the national liberation movements in the three continents, using all the means within its reach."

The message was clear.

In Toronto the Third World Information Service, headed by William Spira and Heather Dean, late of the Students Union for Peace Action (SUPA), became an active echo of the Tricontinental Conference.

From this conference the AAPSO was transformed into the AAPLAPSO — the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Organization.

Bases were also laid for the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), which held its first conference in Havana in 1965.

representatives from 27 countries.

In general, the objectives of LASO were to "use all means" within its reach to support and encourage "liberation" movements and to "link its action . . . to the activities of the Tricontinental organization."

Among its proclamations was one that "principles of Marxism-Leninism guide the revolutionary movement of Latin America."

Also that "guerrillas are the embryo of liberation armies and constitute the most effective way of initiating and carrying out the revolutionary struggle."

The slogan of LASO is: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution."

### Too fast

A year ago last March, LASO issued a call for "solidarity" with guerrillas in Bolivia (headed by Che Guevara) — before the Bolivian government had even acknowledged that there were guerrillas active in that country!

Other guerrilla movements involving LASO are in Colombia, Peru and Venezuela.

In a way, the Latin Americans have gone too fast for the Soviets, even though LASO involved such Soviet-favored groups as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Council, the International Union of Students, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Organization of Journalists and the Tricontinental Committee to Support Vietnam.

Under the leadership of the Cubans, LASO tried to become a "third force" between the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese elements.

At the conference in Havana last year, attended by 281 participants from 38 countries, the Soviets attempted to cool the revolutionary ardor.

Pravda, that organ of Soviet enlightenment, noted that "exporting" revolution was a touchy business and if done indiscreetly, Cuban-style insurgency might "seriously damage" Communist parties and movements in these countries.

It was almost as if Pravda was anticipating the rather ludicrous and dismal demise of Che Guevara, who is now being transformed into something of a revolutionary icon.

Che died partly because he disregarded his own rules of revolution; partly because he chose the wrong country for revolution; and partly because of simple ineptness.

Which brings us to the present. The tentacles of revolutionary movements seem to be spreading towards Canada.

SUPA, which became the New Left Committee, which became the Canadians for the National Liberation Front, which has developed such offshoots as the Planned Action Committee, now stresses a "liberation" movement in Canada to forcibly "free" the country from the shackles of U.S. imperialism.

Quebec's separatist movement fits into this spectrum.

What began in 1954 as the Soviet-sponsored Asian Solidarity Committee, and then seeped through the Middle East into Africa, and then on to Latin America, is now about to reach Canada.

A new branch of "solidarity" will probably be forthcoming from the Hemispheric Confer-

ence in Montreal. Exactly what form it will take should be clearer next month.

Such a gathering, dominated by some of the most radical and revolutionary elements in North and South America would be of obvious interest to Quebec separatists. It would also interest what agitators and subversives there may be in that province — be they Paris-sponsored, Soviet-leaning, Maoist-inspired, just plain hooligans or home-grown activists. All brands are available in this country.

### Confusion

How many of the Canadian sponsors of the Hemispheric Conference are aware of what they are endorsing? Those who have lent their names to it, might do well to attend and see for themselves what it is all about, and if it is compatible with their beliefs.

Possibly some do know what is happening. Possibly the Phyllis Clarkes, the Raymond Boyers, Rabbi Feinbergs, Lukin Robinsons, George Harris', Helen Weirs, Chandler Davis', Ron Maynes and Dr. James Endicotts know exactly what they are doing.

But others may not, or may be confused — the June Callwoods, Laurier Lapierrres, Andrew Brewins, David Gauthiers and Bruno Gerussis.

Those who think that the Vietnam War is the prime reason why the conference is being called may be disillusioned.

For the war is the "excuse" for the anti-American get-together — not the "reason."

25X1C10B

Approved For Release 2005/08/17 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400030010-5

Approved For Release 2005/08/17 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400030010-5

November 1968

SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD

For several years now the Soviets have been attempting to arrange a world conference of Communist parties. It has become clear that their basic aim in convening such a conference is to attempt to get back in hand the world Communist movement -- or at least whatever part of it can be brought back together. They clearly recognize that the movement is rapidly losing its cohesiveness and that this trend must be stopped before it is too late. It has now become obvious that there is no hope of re-integrating the Chinese Communists, nor is there much hope of herding Castro into the same fold as Ulbricht. But, they are intent on gathering together whatever remaining part of the world movement they can, or re-asserting the primacy of the Soviet Union in this movement and, if possible, on preparing a document which will embody the basic Communist doctrine to which all members of the movement will subscribe.

Despite considerable foot-dragging by such parties as the Italian and Rumanian, two Preparatory Commission meetings had been held and the date of 25 November set for the World Communist Conference. Then came the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia and the entire proceedings were thrown into doubt. The issue, as it was developed in the Communist world, was clear: is the Communist movement a unified whole, dominated by the Soviet Union, or is it a sort of federation of separate, equal, autonomous elements?

The Soviet stand was set forth bluntly on 26 September when a leading Soviet ideologist, Sergei Kovalev, writing in Pravda<sup>1</sup>, enunciated a principle which not only attempted to justify the Soviet armed incursion into Czechoslovakia, but which would also henceforth provide a priori justification for the Soviet Union to intervene in any manner it sees fit in the domestic affairs of any Satellite country whose leaders were pursuing policies contrary to Soviet interests. The key passage reads:

"The peoples of the socialist countries and Communist parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries. However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism. This means that each Communist Party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement.... The sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, or the world revolutionary movement."

---

<sup>1</sup>The article is entitled "Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries."

While this principle is advanced with the primary intention of defining relations between the Soviet Union and its European Satellites, its implications for any Communist party outside the Soviet Bloc which identifies its interests with those of the "fatherland of socialism" are clear: the Soviet Union arrogates to itself the authority to control such a party's policies, whether before or after its accession to power.

The Kovalev thesis may be regarded either as a new doctrine or as a more forceful, unambiguous re-formulation in neo-Stalinist terms of the old Communist tenet known as "proletarian internationalism." Stalin's classic definition in 1927 read:

"A revolutionary is he who without arguments, unconditionally, openly and honestly ... is ready to defend and strengthen the USSR, since the USSR is the first proletarian, revolutionary state in the world ... an internationalist is he who, unreservedly, without hesitation, without conditions, is ready to defend the USSR because the USSR is the base of the world revolutionary movement, and to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement is impossible without defending the USSR."

Stalin's former Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky stated the proposition even more bluntly in the Soviet journal Voprosy Filosofii (Problems of Philosophy) No. 2, 1948:

"At present the only determining criterion of revolutionary proletarian internationalism is: are you for or against the USSR, the motherland of the world proletariat? An internationalist is not one who verbally recognizes international solidarity or sympathizes with it. A real internationalist is one who brings his sympathy and recognition up to the point of practical and maximal help to the USSR in support and defense of the USSR by every means and every possible form. Actual cooperation with the USSR, the readiness of the workers of any country to subject all their aims to the basic problem of strengthening the USSR in its struggle -- this is the manifestation of revolutionary proletarian internationalism on the part of workers in foreign countries.... The defense of the USSR, as of the socialist motherland of the world proletariat, is the holy duty of every honest man everywhere and not only of the citizens of the USSR."

The Kovalev formulation of proletarian internationalism has met with either silence or disapproval among Communists. But one leaders (not unexpectedly an East German) has harmonized his voice with Kovalev's. A speech by Eric Honecker, Politburo member of the East German Communist party (known as the SED -- Socialist Unity Party), and heir apparent of Walter Ulbricht, reprinted (significantly enough) in Pravda on 7 October, contained the following passage:



"Now, when proletarian internationalism is again being tested for strength, the SED and all democratic parties and mass organizations of the German Democratic Republic, all our people feel closely tied to the great Soviet people, to their glorious Leninist party, the CPSU, and its Central Committee. Relations with the USSR, relations with the CPSU, are for us, as for all Leninists, the most important criterion by which a party pretending to the right to call itself Marxist-Leninist is judged. In our time, it is impossible to be a Communist without love for the land of Lenin, without supporting its policy...."

The Kovalev thesis was immediately recognized by western journalists for what it was: a blunt statement of the Soviet demand that the "socialist" countries, indeed all Communist parties around the world, are to subordinate their individual interests to Soviet requirements, euphemistically expressed as those of the "world revolutionary movement." The Yugoslav, British and Austrian Communists attacked the revival of this thesis directly and the Rumanians indirectly (by invoking the phrase -- in vogue since Khrushchev's reconciliation with Tito in 1955-56 -- of "mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries"). Perhaps because of its bluntness, Soviet propagandists have subsequently been reluctant to reiterate the Kovalev formulation, and have taken refuge in less obtrusive and less blatant terminology, such as the necessity for "unity," "cohesion," "solidarity," etc. in the international Communist movement, counterposing its "international tasks" and "common interests" to "national tasks" and "individual interests." However the thesis is phrased -- obscurely, politely, euphemistically -- the meaning of "proletarian internationalism" remains the same: Soviet interests take precedence over those of any Communist party within or outside the Communist camp.

As in other times of crisis and strain within the Soviet Bloc, invocation of proletarian internationalism takes precedence over another (and conflicting) thesis, though the two are usually stated side by side. One authoritative expression of the contrary thesis is found in the 1957 Moscow Declaration subscribed to by 12 of the 13 parties in power at that time, including Communist China but not Yugoslavia: "The socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's affairs." Now Kovalev has explicitly rejected the absolute validity of the sovereignty concept, and posited the "higher good" of proletarian internationalism.

The World Communist Conference (WCC) Preparatory Commission (PC) meeting in Budapest 27 September-1 October can be regarded as a practical application of the Kovalev doctrine. The adverse repercussions which the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia had on all non-Bloc Communist parties, had, in the general view, thrown the issue of proceeding with the WCC, and even preparations for it, in doubt. Yet the Soviets succeeded in

mobilizing 58 parties (versus 54 and 67 in two previous preparatory meetings), succeeded also in keeping the Czech issue from erupting into public polemics, in getting a unanimous decision on the "necessity" of holding a World Communist Conference, and in gaining assent to reconvene yet another preparatory meeting on 17 November (which is to decide finally on a date for the full WCC). It seems evident that the Soviets persuaded the participants to subordinate their individual interest to those of proletarian internationalism. In sum, it was a fair example of the servility to which Communists are reduced in the service of this doctrine.

This does not mean, however, that the Soviets achieved a clear-cut victory in their struggle to convene a world conference. Although the 25 November date originally designated for convening the full conference was not cancelled outright (perhaps to save face for the Soviets), most observers believe that the 17 November meeting will postpone the WCC to some time in 1969 or to the indefinite future. And though discussion of the Czech crisis did not break into public view, there can be no question that the dissidence aroused by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was the root cause for making uncertain the future of this pet project of the Soviet Union.

(Attachment A is the English translation, made by Novosti, of the Kovalev article appearing in the New York Times of 27 September. Attachment B is a translation of a 25 September Izvestiya article entitled "The Sacred Principles of Internationalism," which represents the more usual approach to the subject. Attachment C is the text of the official communique issued at the conclusion of the PC; it includes a complete listing of parties participating.)

# The Pravda Article Justifying Intervention in Czechoslovakia

MOSCOW, Sept. 25—Following is an article titled "Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries," published today in Pravda, Soviet Communist party newspaper, and translated by Novosti, Soviet press agency:

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia, the question of the correlation and interdependence of the national interests of the socialist countries and their international duties acquire particular topical and acute importance.

The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people are of great significance for strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class.

We cannot ignore the assertions, held in some places, that the actions of the five socialist countries run counter to the Marxist-Leninist principle of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

## Abstract Approach Seen

The groundlessness of such reasoning consists primarily in that it is based on an abstract, nonclass approach to the question of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The peoples of the socialist countries and Communist parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries.

However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries, and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism.

This means that each Communist party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forgets this, in stressing only the independence of the Communist party, becomes one-sided. He deviates from his international duty.

## One-Sidedness Opposed

Marxist dialectics are opposed to one-sidedness. They demand that each phenomenon be examined concretely, in general connection with other phenomena, with other processes.

Just as, in Lenin's words, a man living in a society cannot be free from the society, one or another socialist state, staying in a system of other states composing the socialist community, cannot be free from the common interests of that community.

The sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin demanded that all Communists fight against small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest.

The socialist states respect the democratic norms of international law. They have proved this more than once in practice, by coming out resolutely against the attempts of imperialism to violate the sovereignty and independence of nations.

It is from these same positions that they reject the leftist, adventurist conception of "exporting revolution," of "bringing happiness" to other peoples.

However, from a Marxist point of view, the norms of law, including the norms of mutual relations of the socialist countries, cannot be interpreted narrowly, formally, and in isolation from the general context of class struggle in the modern world. The socialist countries resolutely come out against the exporting and importing of counterrevolution.

## Opposing Systems Stressed

Each Communist party is free to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism in its country, but it cannot depart from these principles assuming, naturally, that it remains a Communist party).

Concretely, this means

ity, each Communist party cannot but take into account such a decisive fact of our time as the struggle between two opposing social systems—capitalism and socialism.

This is an objective struggle, a fact not depending on the will of the people, and stipulated by the world's being split into two opposite social systems. Lenin said: "Each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in fiasco."

It has got to be emphasized that when a socialist country seems to adopt a "non-affiliated" stand, it retains its national independence, in effect, precisely because of the might of the socialist community, and above all the Soviet Union as a central force, which also includes the might of its armed forces. The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

## NATO Threat Seen

The antisocialist elements in Czechoslovakia actually covered up the demand for so-called neutrality and Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the socialist community with talking about the right of nations to self-determination.

However, the implementation of such "self-determination," in other words, Czechoslovakia's detachment from the socialist community, would have come into conflict with its own vital interests and would have been detrimental to the other socialist states.

Such "self-determination," as a result of which NATO troops would have been able to come up to the Soviet border, while the community of European socialist countries would have been split, in effect encroaches upon the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and conflicts, as the very root of it, with the right of these people to socialist self-determination.

Discharging their international duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist gains, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states had to act decisively and they did act against

## Gomulka Is Quoted

Comrade W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers party, commented figuratively on this score when he said:

"We tell those friends and comrades of ours in the other countries who think they are upholding the righteous cause of socialism and the sovereignty of the peoples by condemning and protesting against the entry of our troops into Czechoslovakia: When the enemy mines our house, the community of socialist states, with dynamite, it is our patriotic, national and international duty to obstruct this by using the means that are necessary."

People who "disapprove" of the actions of the allied socialist states are ignoring the decisive fact that these countries are defending the interests of all of world socialism, of the entire world revolutionary movement.

The system of socialism exists in concrete form in some countries, which have their own definite state boundaries; this system is developing according to the specific conditions of each country. Furthermore, nobody interferes in the concrete measures taken to improve the socialist system in the different socialist countries.

However, the picture changes fundamentally when a danger arises to socialism itself in a particular country. As a social system, world socialism is the common gain of the working people of all lands; it is indivisible and its defense is the common cause of all Communists and all progressives in the world, in the first place, the working folk of the socialist countries.

## 'Rightist' Aim Described

The Bratislava statement of the Communist and Workers' parties says of socialist gains that "support, consolidation and defense of these gains, won at the price of heroic effort and the self-sacrifice of so many people, represent a common international duty and obligation for all the socialist countries."

What the right-wing anti-socialist forces set out to achieve in recent months in Czechoslovakia did not refer to the specific features of so-

application of the principle of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions obtaining in that country, but constituted encroachment on the foundations of socialism, on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the nuance that people who have fallen for the hypocritical nonsense of the antisocialist and revisionist elements still cannot understand. Under the guise of "democratization" these elements were little by little shaking the socialist state, seeking to demoralize the Communist party and begot the minds of the masses, stealthily hatching a counter-revolutionary coup, and they were not duly rebuffed inside the country.

#### Could Not Stand Aside

Naturally the Communists of the fraternal countries could not allow the socialist states to be inactive in the name of an abstractly understood sovereignty, when they saw that the country stood in peril of antisocialist degeneration.

The actions in Czechoslovakia of the five allied socialist countries accords also with the vital interests of the people of the country themselves.

Socialism, by delivering a nation from the shackles of an exploiting regime, insures the solution of the fundamental problems of the national development of any country that has embarked upon the socialist road. On the other hand, by encroaching upon the main stays of socialism, the counterrevolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia undermined the very foundations of the country's independence and sovereignty.

Formal observance of the freedom of self-determination of a nation in the concrete situation that arose in Czechoslovakia would mean freedom of "self-determination" not of the popular masses, the working people, but of their enemies.

The antisocialist path, "neutrality", to which the Czechoslovak people were pushed would bring it to the loss of its national independence.

World imperialism, on its part, supported the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia, tried to export counterrevolution to that country in this way.

The help to the working people of Czechoslovakia by other socialist countries, which prevented the export of counterrevolution from abroad, constitutes the actual sovereignty of the Czechoslovak socialist republic against those who would like to deprive it from its sovereignty and give up the country to imperialism.

#### Political Means Exhausted

The fraternal Communist parties of the socialist countries were for a long time taking measures, with maximum self-restraint and patience, to help the Czechoslovak people with political means to stop the onslaught of antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia. And only when all such measures were exhausted did they bring armed forces into the country.

The soldiers of the allied socialist countries now in Czechoslovakia proved by their actions indeed that they have no other tasks than the tasks of defending socialist gains in that country.

They do not interfere in the internal affairs of the country, are fighting for the principle of self-determination of the peoples of Czechoslovakia not in words but in deeds, are fighting for their inalienable right to think out profoundly and decide their fate themselves, without intimidation on the part of counterrevolutionaries, without revisionists and nationalist demagogues.

#### Class Approach to Law

Those who speak about the "illegal actions" of the allied socialist countries in Czechoslovakia forget that in a class society there is not and there cannot be non-class laws.

Laws and legal norms are subjected to the laws of the class struggle, the laws of social development. These laws are clearly formulated in Marxist-Leninist teaching, in the documents jointly adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties.

Formally juridical reasoning must not overshadow a class approach to the matter. One who does it, thus losing the only correct class criterion in assessing legal norms, begins to measure events with a yardstick of bourgeois law.

Such an approach to the question of sovereignty means

that, for example, the progressive forces of the world would not be able to come out against the revival of neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany, against the actions of butchers Franco and Salazar, against reactionary arbitrary actions of "black colonels" in Greece, because this is "the internal affair" of "sovereign" states.

#### Vietnam Example Cited

It is characteristic that both the Saigon puppets and their American protectors also regard the notion of sovereignty as prohibiting support for the struggle of progressive forces.

They proclaim at every crossroads that the socialist countries, which are rendering help to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence and freedom, are violating the sovereignty of Vietnam. Genuine revolutionaries, being internationalists, cannot but support progressive forces in all countries in their just struggle for national and social liberation.

The interests of the socialist community and of the whole revolutionary movement, the interests of socialism in Czechoslovakia demand complete exposure and political isolation of the reactionary forces in that country, consolidation of the working people and consistent implementation of the Moscow agreement between the Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders.

There is no doubt that the actions of the five allied socialist countries in Czechoslovakia directed to the defense of the vital interests of the socialist community, and the sovereignty of socialist Czechoslovakia first and foremost, will be increasingly supported by all those who have the interest of the present revolutionary movement, of peace and security of peoples, of democracy and socialism at heart.

"Scared Principles of Internationalism"

Life has convincingly proved that socialism, in its forward movement, overcomes all barriers. Such is the objective law of the new world which is coming, through turbulent class battles, to replace the old world of capitalism. Whereas not so long ago it was hoped in the camp of our enemies that it would be possible to halt historical progress, such hopes have been finally dashed to the ground by recent events. All those who hold dear the cause of socialism and the peaceful future of the people are reading the dispatches coming from Czechoslovakia today with a feeling of confidence which is growing stronger. Even the most frantic anticommunists are now compelled to admit the invincibility of socialist gains in that country and the fact that counter-revolution found itself powerless against them.

Among the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic there has noticeably been an increasing understanding of the necessity of bringing the allied forces into the country. Nationalist intoxication aroused by antisocialist propaganda is being gradually dissipated.

Genuine Czechoslovak patriots are realizing more and more clearly the vital importance of a consistent and honest implementation of the discussions taken at the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks in Moscow.

At the same time one cannot fail to be legitimately alarmed at the fact that antisocialist sentiments are still making themselves felt in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The process of normalizing the state of affairs which has begun in the Czechoslovak Socialist republic is clearly not to the taste of the imperialist circles which are not using their propaganda services to give any support they can to the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia.

The present international situation, notable for an aggravation of class warfare in the world arena and a step up of aggressive activity on the part of imperialism, demands that the builders of socialism make even more effective use of the mighty arsenal of Marxist-Leninist ideas. An exceptionally important role in this connection was played by the conference of representatives of communist and workers parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia which took place in Bratislava on 3 August this year. The declaration approved by the participants in the Bratislava conference contained a formulation of the major principles of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, principles of struggle at the present stage for consolidating the positions of socialism, for the peace and security of people, and against the aggressive policy of imperialism.

Not much time has elapsed since the conference in Bratislava, but it has been a period filled with great events which have fully confirmed the correctness of the deductions made by participants of the conference and set forth in their declaration. And today one can state with confidence that, acting unflinchingly in the spirit of that declaration, the socialist countries have already made a considerable contribution to the strengthening of the cause of socialism.

Can people who have come to know the triumph of free labor and life with the establishment of socialism wish to depart from the road they have chosen? Of course not. Expressing their firm will, the participants in the Bratislava conference unanimously declared their unflinching determination to develop and defend the socialist gains in their countries and to strive for new successes in building socialism. The Bratislava declaration contains a vitally important principle, dictated by the necessity for further united action by the socialist states. The support, strengthening, and defense of these gains, which were achieved at the price of the heroic efforts and selfless labor of every people, is the common international duty of all socialist states.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that the foes of socialism are quite prepared to make use of the well-known tactics of the old colonialists: divide and rule. Not risking a frontal attack, they are especially active in making use of these tactics in ideological struggle against the socialist countries. The policy of building bridges and other political diversions of the West pursue the aim of achieving erosion of Marxist-Leninist ideology as the ideological foundation of a socialist society, impairing its political organization, and thereby clearing the field for antisocialist activity in one country or another. The fraternal parties, as was stated in the Bratislava declaration, firmly and resolutely oppose their unshakable solidarity and high degree of vigilance to any attempts by imperialism, as well as by any of the other anticommunist forces, to weaken the leading role of the working class and the communist parties. They will never allow anyone to drive a wedge between the socialist states or undermine the foundation of the socialist social system. The significance of this principle, recorded in the Bratislava declaration, cannot be overestimated.

The document approved by the participants in the Bratislava conference has developed the principles collectively formulated by the fraternal parties at their conferences in Moscow in 1957 and 1960--applying these principles to new conditions. This document expresses positions and views which accord with the interests of all fraternal countries and parties, with the cause of the unshakable friendship of the peoples of socialist states, and with the interests of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. It was by fidelity to the principles fixed in the Bratislava declaration, just as by fidelity to their international duty and obligations as allies, that the Soviet Union and the other allied states were guided when a real threat was hanging over the socialist gains in Czechoslovakia. These lofty Marxist-Leninist principles are inspiring our soldiers, who came to the fraternal soil of Czechoslovakia for the sole purpose of guarding the freedom and independence of that country as a socialist state.

The builders of the new world would be Utopians and not the revolutionary realists which Lenin taught them to be if they considered that complex problems did not arise in the development of socialism. These problems exist, and united efforts by the fraternal countries and peoples are necessary for their solution. The significance of the Bratislava declaration is all the greater because it contains a clear and constructive program for strengthening all-round cooperation of the socialist countries. Since the signing of that document a number of bilateral and multilateral meetings of leading figures of the fraternal countries and parties have taken place. In Moscow, for instance, Soviet-Czechoslovak talks were carried out in the course of which the conviction was expressed by both sides that one of the main tasks in the present conditions in Czechoslovakia was implementation of theses and principles formulated at the Bratislava conference.

The socialist states coordinate their actions in the international arena. How necessary this is especially convincingly proved by the present development of the international situation. The NATO bosses have recently embarked on an open course for a military-political compact against the Warsaw Pact countries. Especially active in fanning an atmosphere of hysteria and tension in Europe are the ruling circles of the German Federal Republic, supported by American imperialism. The criminal aggression of the United States against the heroic Vietnamese people is continuing. The embers of the unquenched fire of war which was lit by Israeli extremists in the Near East are being intensively fanned.

The communist parties and governments of the fraternal countries are taking up a common attitude toward all these burning problems of international life, proceeding from the interests of the struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism. The CPSU and the USSR Government have proved by their actions that they fully adhere, and will continue to adhere, to the collectively formulated principles. The international unity of communists is tempered in struggle against imperialism and all variants of opportunism and sectarianism. Practice shows that deviation from Marxism-Leninism becomes especially dangerous when combined with manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. Unreconcilable struggle against all deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles, and against their nationalist, dogmatic, and revisionist distortions, is the condition and pledge of a successful rebuff to imperialist schemes, the condition and pledge of the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Moscow TASS  
1 October 1968

(C)

#### Text of Communique

[Communique on meetings of the working group and commission for the preparation of an international meeting of communist and workers parties]

A meeting of the working group and commission for the preparation of an international meeting of communist and workers parties took place in Budapest from 27 September to 1 October 1968.

Taking part in the meetings were representatives of the following communist parties: The Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, the U.S. Communist Party, the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Chile, the Progressive Party of the Cyprus Working People, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Communist Party of Denmark, the South African Communist Party, the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party of Finland;

The French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece, the Guadeloupe Communist Party, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Haiti Party of People's Unity, the

Communist Party of Honduras, the Communist Party of India, the Irish Workers Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the People's Party of Iran, the Communist Party of Israel, the Communist Party of Colombia, the PZPR, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the MSZMP, the Party of Liberation and Socialism of Morocco, the Martinique Communist Party, the Mexican Communist Party, the MPRP, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the SED, the SED of West Berlin, the KPD, the Italian Communist Party, the Paraguayan Communist Party, the Peruvian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Reunion, the Rumanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Salvador, the San Marino Communist Party, the Communist Party of Spain, the Swiss Labor Party, the Syrian Communist Party, the CPSU, the Sudanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Uruguay, and the Communist Party of Venezuela.

Several parties, whose representatives could not arrive for the meeting due to different reasons, addressed appropriate letters to the preparatory commission.

The preparatory commission heard and approved information on the work to prepare a meeting of communist and workers parties. Questions connected with the international meeting of communist and workers parties were discussed. The participants in the preparatory commission unanimously confirmed the need for an international meeting to consider the tasks of struggle against imperialism at the contemporary stage, and for the united actions of communist and workers parties, and all the anti-imperialist forces.

The participants in the preparatory commission deem it expedient to consider again the question of the date when the international meeting should be held. They decided to consult the central committees of their corresponding parties on this question.

The members of the preparatory commission agreed to convene a regular session of the preparatory commission in Budapest on 17 November to discuss the date for the meeting's convocation and the procedure of its further preparation.

The meeting of the working group and preparatory commission proceeded in an atmosphere of free, comradely exchange of views and demonstrated once more the desire of the fraternal parties to further develop cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CPYRGHT

CPYRGH  
T

NEW YORK TIMES  
3 October 1968

(D)

# Excerpts From Rusk Talk Before General Assembly

Special to The New York Times  
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.,  
Oct. 2—Following are excerpts from addresses made before the General Assembly today by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and by Torstein Nilsson of Sweden:

By Mr. Rusk

Czechoslovakia today is an occupied country. Six weeks ago, in the middle of the night, suddenly and without warning, that small independent state was invaded by a massive army led by the Soviet Union. Thus a world which had begun to speak of a thaw in the cold war feels once again the chill of

apprehension concerning Soviet purpose.

In recent months the new leaders of Czechoslovakia had set out, within the Communist system, to conduct their country's internal affairs in accordance with new policies, more responsive to the needs and desires of the people of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet invasion was mounted in order to reverse these policies and to subject Czechoslovakia once again to Moscow's will.

Those are the facts, and they cannot be changed by antifacts manufactured in Moscow. There was no attempt from the West to foment a counterrevolution. If there were signs of a desire for a little breath of freedom

arose not from any Western plot but simply from the nature of man.

Nor was there an invitation or request from any Czechoslovak authority for armed forces of the Warsaw Pact to enter the country and render so-called "fraternal assistance." I doubt that anybody in this hall believes there was such an invitation.

Yet today, six weeks later, despite repeated promises, the occupying forces remain in Czechoslovakia. We are told that the withdrawal of these forces will depend on the "normalization" of conditions in Czechoslovakia; evidently the Soviet Union will decide what constitutes "normalization."

Assurances Held Ignored

Soviet media to get on with the job of reimposing censorship on the press, the radio and the television of Czechoslovakia; to abolish this or that organization not congenial with Soviet ideas; to get rid of this or that leader of whom Moscow disapproves. Despite Soviet assurances that their occupying forces will not intervene in internal matters, Soviet military commanders have forcibly occupied and closed certain newspapers; and that same "fraternal assistance" is now being furnished to ministries of the Czechoslovak Government.

These acts against Czechoslovakia, so repugnant in themselves and so dangerous to peace, have aroused the indignation of the United Nations, the governments of the



great majority of the nations of the world; artists and intellectuals with a long record of friendship for the Soviet Union; even the leaders of some of the world's largest Communist parties—all have condemned the invasion and called on the invading powers promptly to withdraw.

Twenty-three years ago, when the United Nations came into existence, it was hailed as the hope of the world. One main reason for this hope was the restraint which the Charter placed upon the historical tendency of great powers to abuse the rights of smaller states. This central restraint of the Charter has been brushed aside by the U.S.S.R. The United Nations has been told, in a singularly crude phrase, not to "stick its nose" into the affairs of any of its members that happen to lie in Eastern Europe within reach of Soviet armies.

True, in recent years, especially in the Nineteen Sixties, signs slowly appeared that Moscow was beginning to permit its neighbors in Eastern Europe to enjoy some measure of independence.

The idea of "different roads to socialism" became respectable in discussions between the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. Even as late as Aug. 3, they joined in a communiqué at Bratislava declaring that cooperation among them would be based on "equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, [and] territorial integrity."

Along with this trend were other developments equally hopeful for the cause of peace. These included notable agreements in the field of arms control, as well as a new willingness by the Soviet Union to allow its people a degree of contact with the outside world.

#### 'Doubt and Discouragement'

Now the subjugation of Czechoslovakia has raised doubt and discouragement about many a hopeful venture. President Johnson's diligent efforts to build bridges of common interest and contact between East and West have been attacked and misrepresented. Policies initiated by the Federal Republic of Germany to improve its relations with Eastern Europe have likewise been condemned.

One might think that to devise a justification for such gross violations of the first principles of the Charter

would be an impossible task. But last week this task was attempted in an article in Moscow's most authoritative organ, Pravda.

Therein we read that, contrary to the general impression, the foreign occupying armies in Czechoslovakia are actually "fighting for the principle of self-determination of the peoples of Czechoslovakia." We read further that to condemn the invasion as a violation of sovereignty and national self-determination betrays "an abstract and nonclass approach" to the subject, because "in a class society there is not and there cannot be nonclass laws." And still further we read that "laws and legal norms are subjected to the laws of the class struggle."

Finally, in the same article, we read that "the sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement." And as if to make sure that this instruction from the largest Communist country is fully understood by citizens of smaller Communist countries, the writer adds this reminder: "Lenin demanded that all Communists fight against small-nation narrowmindedness."

Such are some highlights of this new contribution from Moscow to the discussion of international law—a contribution which does not once mention the Charter of the United Nations. In the light of recent events, this Assembly is entitled to know what the Soviet leaders mean by this doctrine of theirs.

Does it mean that among the states allied with the Soviet Union, the "nonclass" laws of the United Nations Charter are mere abstract principles, subordinate to whatever Moscow determines to be the laws of the "class struggle"?

#### A Mere 'Abstraction'?

Does it mean that the Charter's laws of sovereign equality of states, and of national self-determination, are powerless to shield smaller states within the Communist bloc from invasion and domination by the Soviet Union in the name of the "class struggle"?

Does it mean that the Charter's law prohibiting the threat or use of force against other states will be dismissed as a mere "abstraction"

whenever the Soviet Union finds it in conflict with the laws of the "class struggle"?

Does it mean that the Soviet Union's doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" does not apply to its own allies or those with the same social system?

Finally: when will the Soviet Union, whose international relations are subject to the United Nations Charter, make good on its own repeated promise on its own ing its occupying forces from Czechoslovakia?

The nations of the world will look to the Soviet Union for answers to these questions, and for assurance that it is not seeking to place itself above the law of the Charter.

Let us say very plainly and simply to the Soviet Union: The road to détente is the road of the Charter.

#### Strife in Southeast Asia

I turn now to the strife in Southeast Asia, where our duty—our fervent desire—is to seek an end to the violence with its tragic suffering and its risks of larger war. We must do all we can to turn from war to the works of peace.

In Vietnam the purposes of the United States and its allies are very simple.

We want no permanent military bases in Vietnam. We are not trying to take over any part of Vietnam, nor do we threaten any legitimate interests of any nation in Asia. We want no American empire in Asia.

What we do want is a political solution on honorable terms—a solution consistent with the safety and national existence of all of the smaller nations of Southeast Asia.

We want to assure that the people of South Vietnam can decide their own destiny free of force.

We believe the question of the reunification of Vietnam should be decided through free choice by the peoples of North and South Vietnam without outside interference.

We want a settlement on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements.

These peaceful purposes continue to guide us. Let no one mistakenly suppose that military pressure or any other kind of pressure can make us abandon our commitment to help the Republic of Vietnam defeat aggression from the North and determine its own future. But in carrying out that commitment we shall pursue ener-

getically, the road to an honorable peace.

#### Bombing Curb Recalled

To this end, last March President Johnson excluded from air and naval bombardment all of North Vietnam north of the 20th parallel an area containing 78 per cent of the land and 90 per cent of the population of North Vietnam. He took this step despite the fact that even today not one square mile of South Vietnam is immune from attack. This major initiative led to the opening of negotiations in Paris last May.

In the Paris negotiations the United States representatives have offered a number of specific proposals for de-escalation and a political settlement of the conflict.

We have proposed that the demilitarized zone be restored.

We have proposed that all parties comply fully with the Geneva agreements of 1962 on Laos.

We have proposed that all concerned respect the territorial integrity and neutrality of Cambodia.

We have stated our belief that all the South Vietnamese people should be allowed to participate peacefully in their country's future, and have reaffirmed our belief in self-determination on the basis of "one man, one vote."

#### Hanoi's Rejections Noted

We have restated our intention to withdraw our forces from Vietnam as the other side withdraws, as infiltration stops and the level of violence thus subsides. And we have proposed a number of ways in which the level of violence in Vietnam could be reduced and ultimately ended.

But Hanoi has rejected all these and many other proposals. We look to the representatives of North Vietnam to indicate how they propose that the fighting be scaled down. For our part, we are prepared to stop the bombing the minute we can be confident that this would lead toward peace.

But it takes two sides to make peace. The will to peace in the United States—both among its leaders and people—is deep and abiding. An honorable settlement is possible. What remains is for Hanoi to get down to the serious business of making peace in Paris. They will find the United States receptive and willing to negotiate in good faith.

Perhaps the United Nations, as some have suggested, has fallen short of the high hopes that were entertained for it at its birth. But we can remember the revered statesmen who launched this organization upon its course. We can recall major agreements which represent giant steps toward peace. We can take deep satisfaction from the historical process of decolonization, which is reflected in the rise of our membership from 51 to 125.

And we can be grateful for the dedicated service which the world has received from the representatives of this organization as they have toiled tirelessly and patiently, often in danger and without thanks or praise to bring reason to bear in the affairs of mankind. This organization was not created to preside over an earthly paradise; it was created to enable frail human beings to find a way to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and to join hands in conquering their difficulties, animosities, passions and fears—all in the fidelity to the Charter.